

# PATTERNS OF NATION-STATES AND CULTURE IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Part I

# ORIGINS OF THE NATION- STATE, 1750-1815

# THE AMERICAN, FRENCH, AND HAITIAN REVOLUTIONS

- American, French revolutions → products of Seven Years' War
  - Britain, France fought for dominance of their seaborne empires
- Governments of both kingdoms → deeply in debt to wage war
  - Owed debt to wealthy subjects → landowners, administrators forming ruling class
  - Payment of British interest alone → devoured most of the country's regular annual budget
- Taxes raised on all subjects, both domestic and overseas, to repay debt
  - Monarchs holding mass of their subjects responsible for kings' debts to a few wealthy subjects
  - Formulated political principles of reform → eventual revolution
- Repercussions of American, French revolutionary principles of freedom, equality

# THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



# THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Peace of Paris (February 10, 1763)
  - Watershed moment for British Empire
  - France surrendered Canada → ended more than a century of warfare on northern frontier
- No indication that Seven years' War would lead to creation of an independent state
  - Thomas Pownall → Royal Governor of Massachusetts
- American Revolution was not inevitable
  - Insurmountable obstacles in organizing resistance vs. most powerful military world had ever seen
  - Scattered over huge territory → strong local loyalties
  - Differentiation of economies
  - Religiously diverse

# THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- 1763 → great majority of colonists expressed general contentment with imperial rule
  - Commercial prosperity
  - Military security
  - Manifest benefits of being part of the British Empire
- What changed?
  - Why did colonists “fall out of love” with a political system that had served so well for so long?

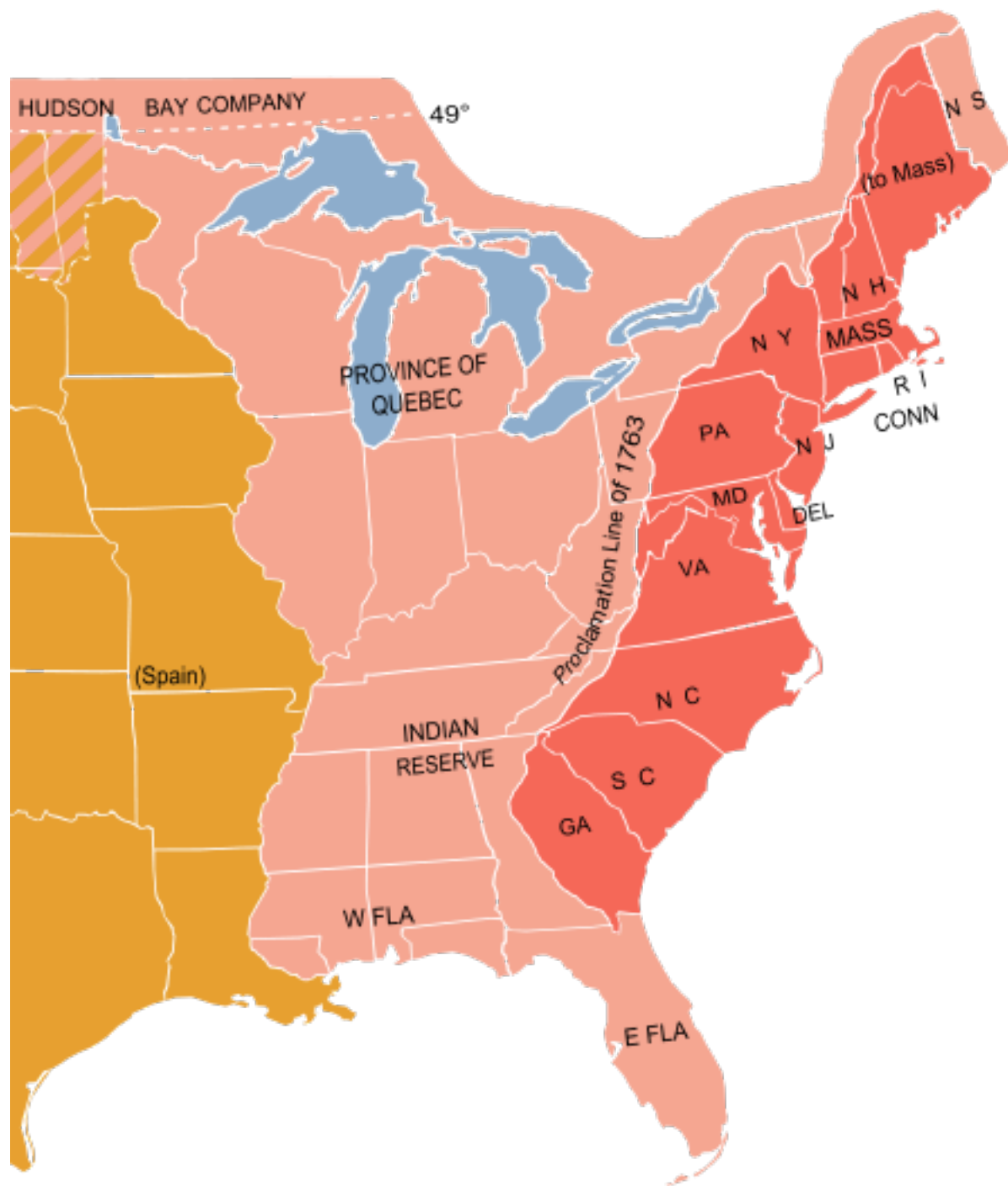
# THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- After 1763 – King and Parliament changed the assumptions that had defined colonial rule
  - Posed an immediate threat to established traditions of colonial self-government, especially taxation through representative assembly
- Taxes
  - Colonial governments → had made sizeable contributions to war effort
  - Did not reject the idea that ordinary citizens had an obligation to fund government services
  - Issue was representation, not taxation
  - Rejected laws made by Parliament 3,000 miles away by unelected men

# THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Demographic, economic growth in 13 colonies
  - Expand beyond Appalachian mountains → relieve growing population pressure
  - Landless population, growing number of poor in major cities
- British government mounted other assaults against colonists' economic wellbeing
  - Interest within colonies of enhancing personal wealth by speculating in western land
  - October 1763 → Privy Council in London drew a line along the crest of the Alleghany Mountains → no colonists permitted to settle beyond that line



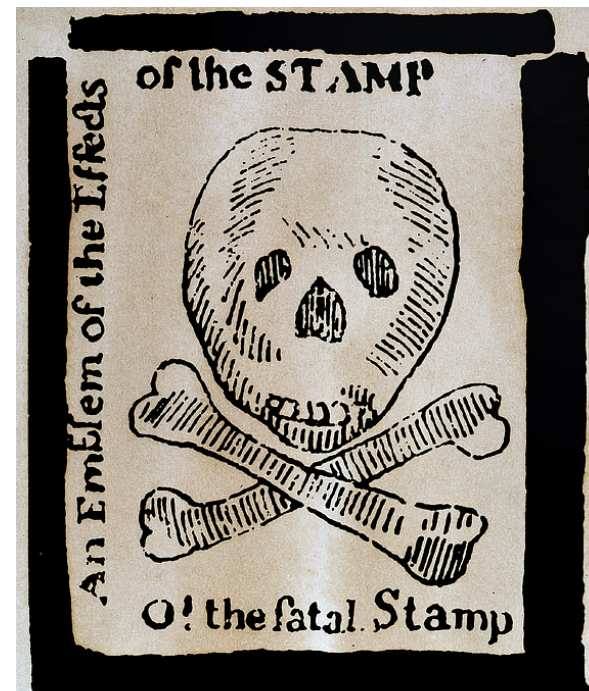


# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Initial belief that Proclamation Line was temporary
  - British government stood by the decree → why
- British government had a financial interest in pacifying American Indians in that territory
  - Revolt of more than a dozen American Indian nations in 1763
  - Did not want to engage in what could be long, expensive conflict again
- 1769 → Virginia House of Burgesses adopted a resolution asking the Privy Council to repeal the Proclamation of 1763
  - British officials never acted on request → provoke renewed hostilities with American Indians
  - Lord Hillsborough

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Early 1760s → leaders of Parliament sought to exploit new sources of American revenue
  - Sugar Act of 1764 → raise money from the molasses trade
  - Stamp Act of 1765 → Placed a tax on almost all printed material including legal documents, newspapers, diplomas, playing cards
- Stamp Act resulted in immediate outrage within the colonies
  - Intended to pay for British troops stationed in the colonies during Seven Years' War
  - Refused to purchase the hated stamps
  - Protested in the streets
  - Urban mobs forced stamp collectors to resign
  - Archibald Hinshelwood



# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- British administrators had not anticipated such violent resistance → 1766 reluctantly repealed the Stamp Act
  - Made it clear that they would never again compromise with colonists
- On the same day that Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, it passed the Declaratory Act
  - Stated that it had the authority to legislate for the Americans “in all cases whatsoever”
  - King, advisors gave not an inch on the question of representation → claimed “virtual representation”
- Within a year, Parliament announced new schemes to tax the colonists
  - Incorrectly believed that “indirect taxes” on imported goods would be less controversial than “direct taxes”

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- The Townshend Acts of 1767 – imposed direct revenue duties
  - The Revenue Act
  - The Indemnity Act
  - The Commissioners of Customs Act
  - The Vice Admiralty Court Act
  - The New York Restraining Act (1768)

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- The Revenue Act
  - Set net import duties (taxes) on British goods imported into the colony
  - Included paint, paper, lead, glass, tea
  - Not allowed to purchase these goods through other sources
- Colonists encouraged the consumption of smuggled tea as a political protest
  - “No taxation without representation

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Commissioners of Customs Act
  - Allowed for warrantless searches of merchants' ships and warehouses
  - Aimed at the prevention of smuggling
- Vice Admiralty Court Act
  - Created new Admiralty Courts in which colonial smugglers would be prosecuted without a jury

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Colonial reaction to Townshend Acts
  - John Dickinson → no difference between “internal” and “external” taxes; that any taxes imposed on the colonies by Parliament for the sake of raising revenue were unconstitutional
  - Massachusetts House of Representatives → campaign against the Acts → legislature dissolved by Royal Governor of Massachusetts on instructions from London
  - Boycotts → particular to goods associated with female consumption/production
  - Significant unrest in Boston → strict enforcement of the Acts



# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Boston Massacre → March 5, 1770
  - Resentment over occupation of the city by British troops since 1768 due to violent resistance of the Acts
  - Murder of a teenager by a customs official in February, 1770
- Series of events
  - Mob harassed a British sentry → verbal abuse, harassment
  - Sentry was eventually supported by eight additional soldiers → subjected to verbal threats, repeatedly hit by clubs, stones, snowballs
  - Soldiers fired into the crowd without orders → instantly killed three people and wounded others; two more people died later of wounds

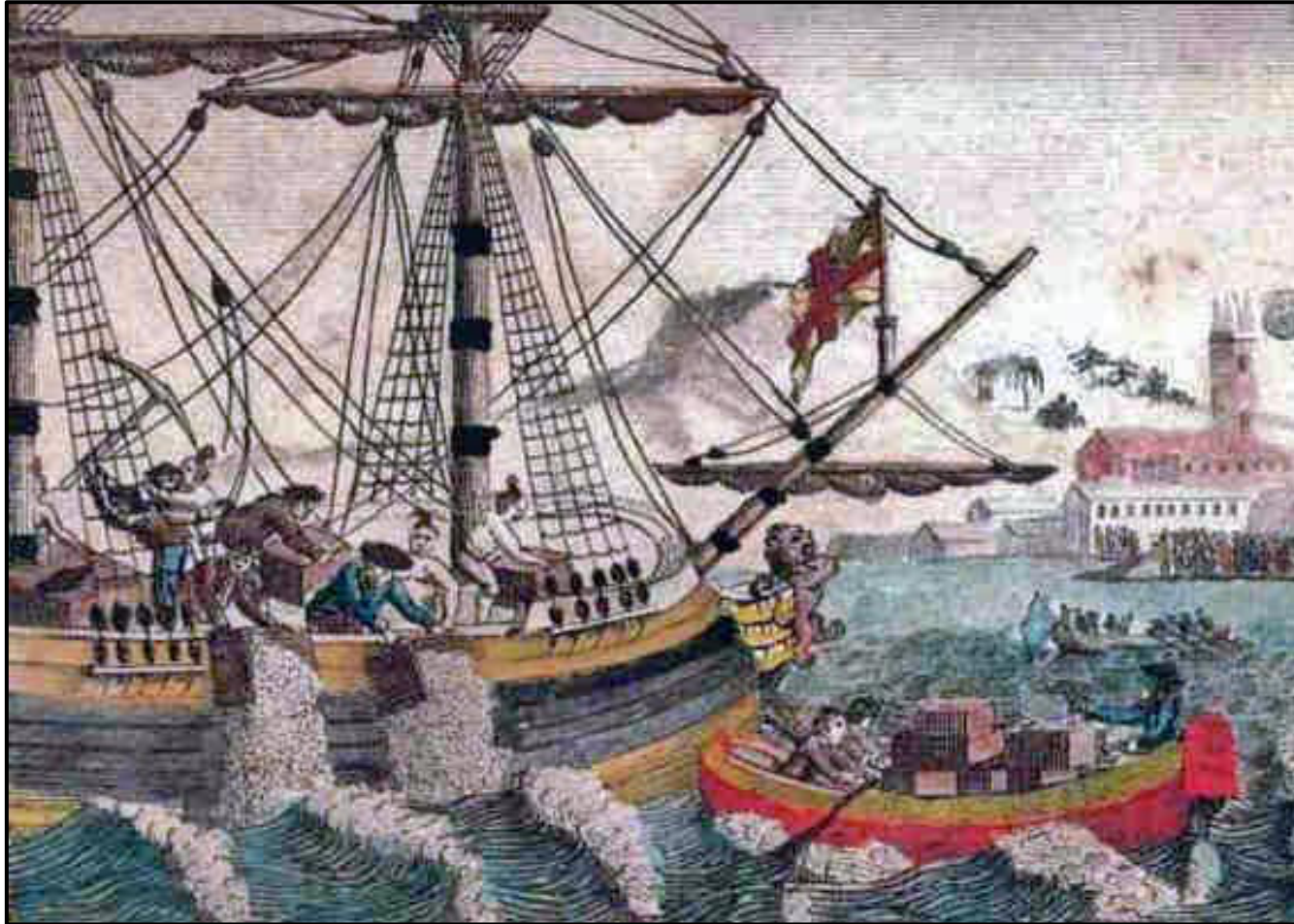
# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Eight soldiers, one officer, four civilians arrested and charged with murder
  - Defended by John Adams
  - Six soldiers were acquitted; other two convicted of manslaughter with reduced sentences
- Fascinating example of the importance of the rule of law amongst the colonial leadership
  - Fair trial = no grounds for retaliation from the British, no alienation of moderates from Patriot cause
- The Boston Massacre is considered one of the most important events that turned colonial sentiment against King George III and British Parliamentary authority.

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Colonists demonstrated remarkable resolve
- Made it clear – especially after 1773 – that they were prepared to sacrifice personal comfort to preserve their liberties
  - Boycotts of consumer goods manufactured in Great Britain
  - Linked British oppression to the enjoyment of everyday consumer goods
  - Colonists turned personal acts – like buying tea – into public testimony of defiance

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION



- Boston Tea Party → December 16, 1773
  - Political protest by the Sons of Liberty
  - Some disguised as American Indians → symbolic; identifying selves with America rather than with Great Britain
  - Destroyed an entire shipment of tea sent to the colonies by the East India Company → 342 chests of tea went into the water (90,000 pounds of tea)
  - Value as of 2014 → \$1.7 million

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Boston Tea Party dramatically altered the character of the entire contest
- Persuaded Parliament that the situation in America required an extraordinary response
  - Dispatched an army of occupation to Massachusetts
  - Punished Boston – regarded as the seat of organized resistance

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Coercive Acts/Intolerable Acts
  - Passed by Parliament in 1774 after Boston Tea Party
  - Meant to punish Massachusetts colonies for destruction of tea shipments
  - Took away Massachusetts' self-government, historic rights
  - Triggered outrage, resistance in the Thirteen Colonies
  - Key developments in the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Four acts within the Coercive Acts
  - Boston Port Act → closed the port of Boston until colonists paid for the tea and order had been restored
  - Massachusetts Government Act → Unilaterally took away Massachusetts' charter, brought it under control of the British government. Almost all positions in the government were to be appointed by governor, Parliament, or the king.
  - Administration of Justice Act → Allowed the Royal governor to order that trials of accused officials take place in Great Britain or elsewhere in the Empire if he decided that the defendant could not get a fair trial in Massachusetts
  - Quartering Act → applied to all of the colonies; allowed a governor to house soldiers in non-military buildings if suitable quarters were not provided; generated the least protest of the four

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Coercive Acts struck ordinary Americans as completely unwarranted
- Summer, 1774 → Crown officials lost control over the New England countryside
  - Armed insurgency terrorized anyone who defended British policy
  - Militia units began preparing for an armed confrontation





# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- Fall, 1774 → most colonists in British North America were angry at the imperial government
  - Few wanted to withdraw from the British Empire
  - Turn back the clock to 1763
- Events of 1774-1776 would convert Americans to the cause of independence
  - British use of German (“Hessian”) mercenaries
  - Loss of life at Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill
  - Publication of Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense*

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- September, 1774 → members of the first Continental Congress gathered in Philadelphia
  - Hoped that they could resolve the imperial crisis without further violence
- Growing popular resistance forced them to make decisions that energized the rebellion
  - Drafted a document known as the Association → among other things, ordered the boycott of British goods
  - Also authorized the formation in every town, city, and county in America of an elected committee empowered to punish anyone guilty of ignoring the boycott
  - Committees soon filled a vacuum left by retreating British officials

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- September, 1774 → 4,622 militiamen from Worcester, Massachusetts
  - Shut down the governmental machinery at the local level
  - Overwhelming show of force → British military commander in Boston did not dare send his troops
- Similar events staged in other county seats
  - Plymouth → 4,000 patriots closed down the court; tried to move Plymouth Rock up to the courthouse
- End of British rule in all of Massachusetts outside of Boston
- October 4, 1774 → people of Worcester said it was time to start a new government from scratch → Revolution had begun

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION

- 700 British army regulars were given orders to capture and destroy colonial military supplies
  - Paul Revere's ride
- Battles of Lexington and Concord
  - April 19, 1775
  - Marked the outbreak of armed conflict between the Kingdom of Great Britain and its thirteen American colonies
  - "Stand your ground; don't fire unless fired upon, but if they mean to have a war, let it begin here." – Captain John Parker (leader of the militia at Lexington)

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Colonists relied on ideas of 17<sup>th</sup> century English philosopher John Locke to explain certain rights and that it was the responsibility of the government to protect these rights
  - Government's failure to serve the common good = no longer merited obedience
  - Radically new way of viewing the state
- For Locke, the state's origins/source of power was in the people
  - People voluntarily contracted to set up governments in order to protect their natural rights to life, liberty, and property
- Locke's writings → witness the birth of liberal social theory
  - Posits the autonomous independent individual as the center of the social universe
  - Individual for whom social and political institutions are self-willed constructs → purpose and function to secure the rights and interests of self-seeking individuals

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Lockean social theory → function of government is negative
  - Willed into being by individual men to serve merely as an umpire in the competitive scramble for wealth and property
  - Only protects life, liberty, property
  - Keeps peace and order in a voluntaristic, individualistic society
  - No longer seeks to promote the good or moral life
  - Does not nurture and educate its subjects in virtue
  - Does not defend and propagate moral and religious truths

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Former noble purposes of classical and Christian state are undermined → liberal theory assigns the state the very mundane and practical role of protecting private rights
- Overturned two thousand years of thinking about politics in the West
- Lockean state is seen as simply the servant or agent of the properties men who contract to set it up
  - Interest in creating the state no more than that of having it protect their lives, liberty, property
  - According to Locke, the state should do no more, no less

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- If the state did more than protect life, liberty, and property – such as prescribing religious truth – or if it did less – such as failing to protect the rights of its subjects – then the state would be dismissed by those who had set it up; replaced by another
- Political ideology of the Founding Fathers as captured in Declaration of Independence
  - Strips government and the state of any moral or religious function
- Locke – men have contracted to obey civil authority not in order for that authority to tell them what to believe or how to pray but simply because it keeps the peace



# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Crucial turning point in Western culture liberal ideology
  - Pushes morality and religion outside the public political realm to a private realm of individual experience
  - Transformed the entire definition of what is public and what is private
- Public realm
  - For nearly 2,000 years was all-inclusive, supervising in the name of the Christian commonwealth political, economic, and religious matters
  - Now severely curtailed as liberal theory expands the role of the private realm

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Equally profound was the change in the understanding of what law was and what purpose it served
  - Rejected Christian conception of law as a worldly injunction requiring virtuous and moral living
  - “Laws provide simply that the goods and health of subjects be not injured by the fraud and the violence of others. The business of the law is not to provide for the truth of opinion, but for the safety and security of the commonwealth and of every particular man’s goods and persons.”

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Revolutionary founders of America created a government indifferent to guarding and promoting moral or religious truth
  - Politics → not designed to shape virtuous character through religion
  - Created a secular state → individuals pursued happiness as they personally conceived it, free of state tutelage and interference
  - Religion was a vital matter, but it was a matter of individual conscience, outside the state's concern and competence

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- James Madison – Federalist Papers
  - Described the state as being no more than a “disinterested and dispassionate umpire in disputes”
- Thomas Jefferson – *Notes on the State of Virginia*
  - Explains why the state must remain unconcerned with private religions belief/disbelief
  - “The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say There are twenty gods, or no God. It neither breaks my leg, nor picks my pocket.”

# ROAD TO REVOLUTION – JOHN LOCKE

- Locke wrote that secular laws were intended only to provide that “the goods and health of subjects be not injured”
  - Saw politics not about salvation, doctrinal purity, truth, men leading virtuous and moral lives
- Politics = personal rights
  - Focused on economics and property
  - State’s job was to ensure a peaceful and secure enjoyment of personal rights safe from injury

# THE REVOLUTION

- British soldiers retreated from Concord and Lexington to Boston
  - American forces – the Continental Army – surrounded the city and began a siege
- Siege ended in March, 1776
  - Continental forces seized British cannons at Fort Ticonderoga in upstate New York
  - Rather than suffer a bombardment, British officers abandoned the city
- Short-lived victory
  - July 2, 1776 → 23,000 British regulars, 9,000 Hessian mercenaries, a few thousand seamen, and 417 vessels armed with approximately 1,200 cannons gathered in New York harbor
  - Largest military force ever assembled by Great Britain for a single expedition until the 20<sup>th</sup> century

# THE REVOLUTION

- Members of the Continental Congress had been dragging their feet on the question of independence
  - January, 1776 → Publication of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*
- *Common Sense*
  - Demonstrated not only that the monarchy was a fundamentally corrupt form of government, but also that it was high time for the American people to establish an independent republic
  - "The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind"
- Slowly, often reluctantly, the members accepted the push for independence

# THE REVOLUTION

- Legal separation of the American colonies from Britain was ratified on July 2, 1776
  - Same day that the British forces anchored in New York harbor
- Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was ratified by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776





# THE REVOLUTION – DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

- Fundamental to American history longer than any other text
  - First to use the name “the United States of America” – birth certificate of the American nation
- Enshrined what came to be seen as the most succinct and memorable statement of the ideals on which the nation was founded
  - Rights to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness; the consent of the governed; resistance to tyranny
- First successful declaration of independence in world history
  - Helped to inspire countless movements for independence, self-determination, and revolution

# THE REVOLUTION - THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

- Stated the self-evident truths that justified separation
- Listed facts to “a candid world” to prove that George III had acted tyrannically
  - Colonial subjects could not rightfully leave the British Empire
- Declared that “these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES”
  - Full power to “levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right to do”

# THE REVOLUTION – THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

- Declaration not just to colonists who could not become citizens rather than subjects, but also to the powers of the earth
  - Asked to choose whether or not to acknowledge the United States of America among their number
- Final paragraph of the Declaration
  - Announced that the United States of America were now available for alliances and open for business
  - Colonists needed military, diplomatic, and commercial help in their struggle against Great Britain
- So long as the colonists remained within the empire, they would be treated as rebels
  - Organized into a political body with which other powers could engage, they might then become legitimate belligerents in an international conflict rather than treasonous combatants within a British civil war

# THE REVOLUTION – THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

- August, 1776 → copies of the Declaration had reached London, Edinburgh, Dublin, the Dutch Republic, and Austria
- Fall, 1776 → copies had reached Denmark, Italy Switzerland, Poland
  - Declaration had been translated into multiple languages and appeared across Europe
- Read with particular interest in France
  - Serious negotiations after American victory at the Battle of Saratoga in October, 1777
  - Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce in February, 1778 was the first formal recognition of the United States as “free and independent states”



# THE REVOLUTION

- Conflict between Britain and the American colonies was not just a war between two different political ideologies
  - Conflict within families – brother vs. brother, father vs. son, etc.
  - First American civil war?
  - Timothy Pickering, Jr.

# THE REVOLUTION

- Beating the British on the battlefield proved much more difficult than most Americans imagined
  - Bunker Hill in 1775 indicated that courageous yeomen farmers could stand up to well-trained British redcoats
- 44-year old George Washington, Commander of the American Army, demanded a proper military force
  - Understood discipline
  - Properly trained

# THE REVOLUTION

- Washington avoided direct confrontation with the main British army whenever possible
  - Did not trust that untrained troops would stand fast
  - Waged a defensive war because it was the only option available
- Washington sensed that in the long run the British were in an impossible situation
  - Supply lines were too long and vulnerable
  - Could hold cities, but once they marched to a new location, the Americans quickly returned



# THE REVOLUTION

- American forces pushed back from Long Island to Manhattan, and then to the mainland
  - British forces at their heels
  - Winter was coming on
  - “These are the times that try men’s souls”
  - Enlistments were due to expire at the end of the year → feared that many would not re-enlist





# THE REVOLUTION

- Christmas Night, 1776 → General Washington risked everything by staging a three-pronged crossing of the Delaware River to surprise and defeat the British advance guard at Trenton
  - Hessian garrison of approximately 1,400 soldiers at Trenton, New Jersey
  - Washington commanded a force of 2,400, which was 3,000 less than planned
  - Hoped that a quick victory would boost morale, lead to re-enlistments and new recruits
- A still-unidentified British spy within Washington's headquarters had sent news of an impending crossing to his superiors
  - Hessian Colonel Johann Rall at Trenton said: "Let them come . . . Why defenses? We will go at the with the bayonet."

# THE REVOLUTION

- By the time the majority of the American forces had reached the launching point for the boats, the drizzle had turned into a driving rain
  - Turned into a howling nor'easter
  - “It blew a perfect hurricane” as snow and sleet lashed the army → temperatures ranged from 29 degrees to 33 degrees Fahrenheit
  - Soldiers were tired, hungry, ill-clothed → still had to march 10 miles to Trenton after the river crossing; took four hours
- Managed to convey 18 cannons over the river
  - Some weighing 1,750 pounds

# THE REVOLUTION

- At 8 AM, Washington led the assault, riding in front of his soldiers
- Incredibly, the American forces took the Hessians off-guard
  - 896 Hessians were captured, 22 were killed, 83 were wounded
  - American losses were due to exhaustion, exposure, and illness; 5 were wounded in battle
- In addition to prisoners of war, American troops seized much-needed supplies:
  - 1,000 arms and ammunition
  - Tons of flour, dried and salted meats, ale, shoes, boots, clothing, bedding

# THE REVOLUTION

- Small but decisive battle → effect disproportionate to its size
  - Colonial effort was galvanized
  - Americans overturned the psychological dominance achieved by the British troops in the previous months
  - Gave the Continental Congress a new confidence → proved colonial forces could defeat regulars

# THE REVOLUTION

- December 31, 1776
  - Enlistments are up
  - War-weary troops can go home to their families
- Offered \$10 bonus to stay on and fight → typical pay was \$6 per month
  - No one stepped forward
  - Washington decided to try again

# THE REVOLUTION

- Approximately 2,400 regular soldiers agreed to stay on for six more weeks to help Washington rid the Jerseys of the British
  - Represented about half of Washington's troops

# THE REVOLUTION

- Battle of Princeton → January 3, 1777
  - Washington led the attack
  - Drove British forces back → retreat
- Third defeat of the British in 10 days
  - British evacuated southern New Jersey
  - Increase in morale along American troops
  - Increase in enlistment

# THE REVOLUTION

- The victories at Trenton and Princeton staved off defeat
  - Continental army still undermanned
- Initiated a draft
  - Each state and town had to come up with its quota of soldiers
  - Lotteries → hire replacements
  - Female riders, roles within Continental Army



# THE REVOLUTION

- As the war dragged on, a pattern emerged
  - British able to hold port cities, which they could resupply by sea
  - If they journeyed into the interior, they confronted a small but dedicated Continental Army beefed up by homegrown militias

# THE REVOLUTION

- Battle of Saratoga (1777)
  - Decisive American victory and a turning point in the war
- British troops under General John Burgoyne were outnumbered by American forces
  - 6,600 – 7,200 British troops vs. 9,000 – 12,000 American troops
  - 440 killed, 695 wounded, 6,222 captured (British) vs. 90 killed, 240 wounded (American)
- General Burgoyne surrendered his entire army on October 17
  - Returned to England
  - Never given another commanding position in the British Army

# THE REVOLUTION

- News of Burgoyne's surrender led to France's decision to enter into negotiations with the Americans
  - Led to a formal Franco-American alliance, French entry into the world
  - Moved the conflict onto a global stage
- Britain was forced to divert resources used to fight the war in North America to theaters in the West Indies and Europe
- France found an opportunity of revenge over defeat in the Seven Years' War by aiding the colonists
  - Sent soldiers, donations, loans, military arms, supplies, naval support

# THE REVOLUTION

- Five years into the war (1779), appeared no endgame in sight for either side
  - Primary job for each army was to remain on duty → proved difficult
- Problems with supplies on both sides
  - British needed to ship goods across three thousand miles of ocean or raid American farms → alienated local people
  - American soldiers relied on civilians who already felt overburdened by the war
- Winter at Morristown, New Jersey (1779-1780)
  - Coldest winter on record for the eastern seaboard
  - Soldiers reduced to eating dogs and shoe leather

# THE REVOLUTION

- Conflict seemed to be a war of endurance
  - Who could outlast the other
- October 7, 1781 → Surrender at Yorktown
  - Last major battle of the war
  - Surrender by General Lord Cornwallis → 7,685 troops
- War lingered on for almost another year
  - More Americans lost their lives in battle during that time than during the eventful first year of the war

# THESE UNITED STATES

- British conceded, though not simply because of Yorktown
  - Suffering losses in the Mediterranean, Africa, and India
  - British Empire was spread too thin

# THESE UNITED STATES

- Treaty of Paris was signed in Paris by representatives of the United States and Great Britain on September 3, 1783
  - Formally concluded the war
  - Doubled the size of the United States → granted Britain's vast territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River
- Last British troops departed New York City on November 25, 1783
  - Marked the end of British rule in the new United State





# THE COST OF WAR

## **The United States**

- 25,000-70,000 died during active military service
  - 6,800 killed in battle
  - 17,000 died from disease
- 8,500-25,000 wounded or disabled

## **Great Britain**

- 43,633 ranks and file deaths across British Armed Forces
  - 9,372 soldiers killed in battle across the Americas
  - 1,240 sailors killed in battle
  - 18,500 sailors died from disease